A NECESSARY EVIL: THE CONCEPT OF ŻULM IN ARAB POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND ITS HISTORIC ROOTS

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1. Introduction

From early 2011 protests in Cairo’s main square, which ended the three decades of Ḥusnī Mubārak’s rule, through a brief military junta rule and Egypt’s first democratic presidential elections, to the ousting of the newly elected Islamist president and the reinstatement of an authoritarian regime through military coup in 2013, Egypt had gone through a turbulent period, which the majority of its citizens of different ideological persuasions agree in calling a revolution. In the public domain, the revolution, its ‘goals’ (ahdāf), aspirations inspired by it, its slogans, martyrs and enemies have rapidly occupied the center of public discussion forming a characteristic strand of political discourse. This new revolutionary discourse was centered around a coherent set of concepts, some of which, such as FULŪL (debris of the Ancien Régime)1, were new coinages reflecting the dominant mood of the day or updated versions of the ones known from long before2, others, such as and QIṢĀṢ (RETAILIATION)3, assumed new sociopragmatic functions. This article is dedicated

2 Elsewhere we have demonstrated how the changed practice of political protest and its communication environment in the course of January 25 events affected the meaning of the concept of REVOLUTION – cf. Alexander Bogomolov. The 18 Days that Changed Egypt: the Concept of Revolution in the Egyptian Arab Spring Discourse. Skhodznavstvo. Issue 70, 2015, pp. 11–34.
to the analysis of a concept representing yet another class of what could be described as *cultural constants*, a concept, which had long dominated the Egyptian and Arab political discourses, whose role in the discourse of January 25 revolutions appears to be quite unique.

When faced with the need to explain the reasons behind the January 25 revolution Egyptian authors would mostly cite ZULM (wronging, injustice, oppression) as the main characteristic of the Ancien Régime, while varying on other details, which may reflect their diverging political persuasions and writing styles. Here are a few examples:

(1) *sa'b jara 'alā az-zulm wa al-fasād wa al-ifgār* (people rose up against ZULM, corruption and impoverishment);

(2) *sa'b jara 'alā az-zulm wa al-fasād wa dīkātūriyyat hukm al-faḍr* (people rose up against ZULM, corruption and dictatorship of the rule of individual);

(3) *sa'b jara 'alā az-zulm wa al-fasād wa al-istibdād* (people rose up against ZULM, corruption and despotism);

(4) *sa'b jara 'alā az-zulm wa at-tuğvān* (people rose up against ZULM and tyranny)

The fact that it is ZULM that is seen as the single most important cause or motive of the Egyptian revolution is evident from its syntactic position as the head term in a coordinated row. It may be argued also that other members in these groups of two or three are semantically dependent on ZULM – they have overlapping semantic elements with it and have been augmented in order to rhetorical amplify or elaborate on its meaning

Before we go into further detail, it merits saying a few words on our understanding of *concepts* as units of language semantics, their role in shaping discourses and the methodological sources of the present study. In our view, concepts represent complex semantic structures, which may be materially represented in text as one or

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4 For the sake of simplicity in this paper we use the phonetic symbol reamble as representation of the Arabic ẓl, which reflects the Egyptian and also urban Levantine manner of pronouncing this sound as opposed to the Classical Arabic one, which would be best represented as ẓ; for the convenience of non-Arab speakers, throughout this text in brackets or otherwise we enter only those English equivalents of Arabic words that are deemed to be appropriate to specific context or the more salient ones; otherwise, even the relatively concise Arabic English dictionaries cite very long lists of equivalents for the derivatives of √ẓl e.g. for the noun *zulm* – wrong, iniquity, injustice, inequity, unfairness, oppressions, repression, suppression, tyranny; and for the verb *zalam* also to ill-treat and harm (cf. Wehr, H. 1976. A dictionary of modern written Arabic. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. 3rd ed. Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, Inc.); such a broad range of English equivalents also highlights ZULM as an idiosyncratic concept.

5 From an article on oppositional website Mada Masr of 15 Feb, 2015 – http://goo.gl/YTaVp0
6 http://www.ahram.org.eg/NewsPrint/344315.aspx
7 http://goo.gl/FhHie
8 The less connected one being fasād (decay, corruption, depravity).
more nominations including cognates belonging to different world classes (nouns, verbs, active or passive participles) or groups of synonyms. These lexical units combine with other lexis forming stable collocations, some of which could be idioms. It is these collocations that we go after, when compiling our mini corpus of discourse samples on the basis of media texts available on the web, which constitutes the raw data of our study.

The core structure of a concept may be described as a Fillmorean frame\(^9\), while stable collocations composed of key nominations representing the concept (e.g. n. \(zulm\), v. \(zal\)) with various modifiers express ideas that may be associated with the concept. The latter may often include culture-specific beliefs, which may be formulated by analyst in the form of propositions\(^10\), e.g. ‘retaliation (QIṢÂṢ) is best performed in a speedy manner’\(^11\). Some stable collocations may also indicate that a conceptual metaphor may be involved\(^12\). Particularly indicative in that sense are collocations of nominal representations of the concept with prepositions and verbs. For instance, collocations of the noun \(zulm\) (injustice, oppression, wrong) with the derivatives of the verb \(waqa‘\) (to fall) and spatial prepositions, e.g. \(taḥ\) (under), point to a metaphoric representation of ZULM as an object falling from sky, i.e. an area beyond human control, which conveys a perception of injustice as an unpredictable and fatal force.

The ‘cultural’ meanings, when explicated by an analyst in the form of propositions, would often sound as phrases that are never actually said, as for members of a speech community they would represent statements of the obvious. Alternatively, they may become idioms, which although structured as propositions (oppression has an end\(^13\)) unlike non-idiomatic, ‘normal’ propositions, which convey new information, only feature in the argumentative part of an utterance or text. What also helps us identify these meanings as culturally predetermined notions is that they do not in fact appear so obvious for the members of another speech community, such as the one of the analyst. For instance, the idea of speediness as a necessary prerequisite of good retaliation or justice in general may be contrasted with the European notion of revenge as ‘a dish best served cold’ and the notion of ‘fair trial’, which puts pre-


\(^13\) This is an English translation of an Arabic idiom, which we discuss in more detail below.
mium on ensuring the quality of evidence and the equality of the parties, which may only come at the expense of the expediency. Also, artificially constructed cultural propositions, expressing pieces of local knowledge, belong to a meta-level, at which ordinary speakers normally do not operate. Yet, it is these elements of the concepts that lend them their distinct outlook and capacity to shape discourses even without being explicitly represented in text.

2. Key nominations: lexis, grammar, frame semantics and basic pragmatics

In discourse, the concept that we discuss in this paper is most often explicitly represented by derivatives of the root √ظلم, including the transitive verb ظلم (to wrong, treat unjustly, tyrannize, commit outrage), active participle functioning mostly as adjective or noun ظالم (unjust, unfair; tyrant, oppressor), passive participle مظلمة (wronged, ill-treated, oppressed, tyrannized), and the form ظلم featuring as both a verbal noun (مشدد) or a simple noun, which for the sake of convenience we will use as the material representant of the concept for the purposes of this study. Aside from the derivatives of √ظلم, there is at least one more root √فرب, whose two derivatives – the verb ثار and active participle ثار – convey a closely related set of meanings, but occur in a narrower set of contexts. There is also a group of lexis appearing in dictionaries in mutually defining pairs with the derivatives of √ظلم and occasionally functioning as synonyms to them, which includes ظاية (tyrant, defined as a ruler, whose essential characteristic is being ظالم), ظا/ظ (generally meaning seek, desire, but with the preposition ‘الا – upon, against – acquiring a different meaning – oppress, commit outrage), and ظاش/ظاشم (treat unjustly or tyrannically, to wrong, oppress, but also to act thoughtlessly, haphazardly, with the latter in all probability being the original meaning of the verb). Aside from being explicitly represented in discourse by this large variety of forms and lexis, the concept may also appear in an implicit form, manifesting its presence through a set of cognitively linked or associated meanings.

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14 Active and passive participles may fill into the slots of Agent and Patient in a Fillmorian frame-semantic representation of ظلم without referring to a specific situations that may be described as such.


16 See, for instance, the online Arabic dictionary at http://www.almaany.com/, where ظاية is defined as ظاية (strong in respect of ظلم).

The fact that the full set of grammatical derivatives of √zālim is in actual use and demonstrate high frequency of occurrence means that texts foregrounding all core elements (semantic roles) of its Fillmorean frame-semantic structure are represented in the actual speech practice. From the point of view of sociopragmatics, this may be interpreted as an evidence of a multi-dimensional perspective on the situations described by the frame ZULM and the significance attached by the speech community to providing the perspectives of different social actors involved in situations thus defined.

Despite the fact that the verb zalām (oppress, wrong smb.) conveys an idea of an interaction between sentient/animate Agent and Patient, the verb is quite unspecific as regards the actual nature of this interaction, and a stand-alone phrase *zalama Ahmada Zaydan modeled on the Arab grammarians’ classical phrase daraaba Ahmada Zaydan (Ahmad has beaten Zayd) would hardly make much sense. On the other hand, a far higher frequency of the phrase anā ma l m (I am wronged, oppressed), as opposed to huwa ma l m (he is wronged, oppressed) suggests that ZULM more often features as a subject of complaint than of an objective observation. While a stand-along phrase with the verb zalām would hardly appear informative, there are, however, multiple contexts, in which ma l m (or zālim) would appear to be not in need of any specification, cf.:

inna da’wat al-mazlūm laysa baynahā wa bayna al-lāhi ḥijāb, fa-‘innahu mahmū kāna ḍalīlī‘a ḍalīlī‘a wa muhān wa ī’ fa-inna al-lāhi nāṣara hu ‘alā man zalānu...

[As for the] the call of the oppressed/wrong one, there is no veil (in the sense of barrier or obstacle that may block vision or hearing – A.B.) between it and Allah, and however abject and weak or humiliated and lowly [he may be], Allah shall help him against [he] who wronged him...

In such a context mazlūm appears to refer to a lasting state that the Patient of an act of ZULM, is experiencing. The verb zalām, hence, appears to describe an act that causes a protracted negative affect upon a sentient (usually human) Patient, but the verb as such does not unambiguously explicate the nature of this act or its specific details. By the same token, the substantivated active participle zālim will mostly refer to an entity, whose essential or permanent quality is the aptitude to commit acts of ZULM, or be engaged in such acts on a regular basis.

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18 It is interesting that the forms of active and passive participles, which indicate the foregrounding of either Agent or Patient in text, demonstrate almost the same level of occurrence – 9,420,000 results for zālim and 9,840,000 result for mazlūm on Google search (data of 21 April, 2016).
19 38,900 results on Google search against 649 results as of April 13, 2016.
21 As we shall see below, zālim may also be used as an adjective with nouns signifying action.
While evaluation is a key element of ZULM semantics, the evaluation mode changes depending on whether Agent or Patient is foregrounded. When the concept is represented by the passive participle mazlûm, foregrounding Patient, the evaluation is given from an individual subjective perspective and tends to assume a psychological tilt. With zâlim Agent will be foregrounded and the evaluation will be axiological, while the noun zulm associated with an external observer’s (objective) perspective would reflect a normative mode of evaluation. The variety of evaluation modes\(^\text{22}\) associated with ZULM is a unique characteristic of the concept, which enhances its functionality as an element of political discourse.

In ZULM semantics, the (negative) evaluation is clearly the most essential but not the only element, as the derivatives of √zûm and √jwr are certainly far more specific than such terms as good and bad. Aside from the evaluative part, the rest of ZULM semantics is comprised of its Agent – Patient frame structure, which gives direction to the application of negative evaluation\(^\text{23}\). It also includes a set of associated ideas, which we will analyze in more detail below. Disparate as they may appear these ideas demonstrate enough coherence to be viewed as part of a single concept. Generally, the concept functions as a categorizer in respect of a specific (if even a bit fuzzy) set of social transactions and the effects of such transactions on the status of their participants, and constitutes an essential and rather salient element in what may be described as the ethical conceptual toolkit of the Arab political discourse.

### 3. ZULM within a broader domain of JUSTICE

Within a universe of meanings representing the domain of JUSTICE in Arabic, the concept of ZULM appears to function as its negative pole. One of its key idiosyncratic features, which catches the eye at once, is the absence of any formal negation in its key material representants – derivatives of the roots √zûm and √jwr – which may be contrasted to similar lexis in the European languages, where the opposite of JUSTICE is usually expressed as JUSTICE + negation (expressed by negative particle or prefix). In Arabic, while the positive pole in the domain of JUSTICE is represented by the derivatives of the root √dîl – e.g. adîl, adâla (justice), adîl (just), derivatives of √zûm by far outscore those of √dîl with negation in the actual usage: āyr adîl (not just) returned about 348,000 results\(^\text{24}\) vs. zâlim – about 9,460,000 results; ādam ‘adl – about 15,900 results and ādam al-‘adl about 44,200


\(^{23}\) Agent is always bad, it is a marked part of the pair, while Patient is neutral; by means of empathic deixis Patient may be indicated as an object of speaker’s empathy and Agent as emotionally removed.

\(^{24}\) While in all other cases we only use Google data attributed to Egyptian sources, in this paragraph the data is cited irrespective of the ‘region’ parameter on the advanced Google search.
results vs. *zulm* – about 9,220,000 results. It is, hence, more likely that the idea of being unjust/unfair would be expressed with adjective *zālim* rather than *gayr ‘ādil*, cf.:

a) ...wa ikhnāni ra‘is al-wuzara‘ al-jadīd bi-ta‘šīl al-ḥukūma li-annahu ta‘šīl *zālim* li-l-aqḥāf26

...and I will not congratulate the new Prime Minister on the composition of the government for [it is] a composition unjust/unfair to the Copts.

By contrast, the form with negation *gayr ‘ādil* is more likely to appear in two distinct contexts. Either when the Arabic text is based on a translation from a European language source27, cf.:


Melissa Fleming, an official spokesperson for the UNHCR, stated today, on Saturday that the European system is unjust toward the refugees.

Or when it is applied in a dialog (also when such dialog is narrated in an indirect form) and the use of *zālim* is apparently restricted by the rules of politeness, cf.:

c) šahidat al-jalsa as-sabāhiyya (…) wāqi‘a (…) bi-ta‘ṣāwil an-nā‘ib faṭḥī as-saqrūwī ‘alā ra‘is al-majlis ad-duktūr ‘alī ‘abd al-‘āl muttaḥīman iyyāhu bi-annahu *gayr ‘ādil* fī i‘āma al-kalima li-n-nuwāb…29

The morning session witnessed (…) a sad incident (…) with the Deputy Fathi al-Sharqawi attacking the chairman of the Parliament Dr. Ali Abd-al-Al, accusing him that he [is] unjust (lit. not just) in his [manner of] giving the floor to deputies...

Derivatives of √\( \frac{1}{m} \), and not of √\( \frac{1}{d} \) + negation, function as preferred antonyms to the derivatives of √\( \frac{1}{d} \). This situation, in our opinion, cannot be attributed to a morphological structural factor, viz. that, unlike the European languages, Arabic does not possess negative prefixes and forms like *gayr* "ādil" are, strictly speaking, noun phrases and not single words like English *unjust* and *unfair*, which might have rendered them less convenient for use. As we have demonstrated, such negative noun phrases do occur quite frequently, and there seems to be no purely morpholo-
gical constraint for their broader use. The difference, hence, has more to do with semantic preferences rather than morphology. At the face of it, the opposition *ādil – ġayr *ādil appears to be a privative one, while *ādil – *zālim – an equipollent one, meaning that in terms of volume of information there is one bit difference between the two terms in the former case and an unspecified (or unspecifiable) difference in the latter one. The situation of course is not as simple as that, when it comes to semantics as opposed to phonology, in relation to which the notions of privative and equipollent oppositions were suggested and where they best apply, but still there seems to be a grain of truth in mentioning these concepts here, if even metaphorically. The distance between the pair of opposite terms not involving negation appears to be greater, and concepts that don’t include explicit negations, such as ZULM appear to be semantically richer than those modeled on ~X. ZULM is also more precise heuristically, for, in contrast to JUSTICE + negation constructs, its referential scope is more clearly defined with Agent and Patient slots corresponding to specific social actors and a more clearly specified evaluative component. Finally, there seems to be a cultural preference in Arabic prize such concepts as ZULM over their more abstract equivalents. Another case in point is QIṢĀṢ (re-)taliation, which often replaces or overwrites a more generic ḌĀLĀ (justice). In both cases a more specific term stands for a more generic one, – a situation reminiscent of synecdoche. It doesn’t seem to be the case, however, that the preference is given to one set of terms as opposed to another merely for the sake of being more specific. The true underlying motive seems to be that when talking about socially important events or acts, Arabic speakers appreciate difference over indifference, an engaged rather than a restrained perspective. The difference and specificity appear to be intimately related dimensions of meaning, for a closer position of the obse-

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31 It is not accidental, perhaps, that there is no frame of (in)Justice on the Framenet, while it offers a description of such as related notion and cognate term as Justify – cf. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/findrupal/index.php?q=frameIndex
32 For details and illustrations cf. ours An Eye for an Eye and the Struggle for Power in the Discourse of the Egyptian Arab Spring. Scripta Neophilologica Posnaniensia, 2015, Vol. XV, pp. 13–33; interestingly, in one example of an Arabic translation from English (p. 18 ibid.); the selling point of QIṢĀṢ as opposed to the abstract notion of *‘ādāla (justice) is its prescriptive/normative component – it not only ascribes a clear set of semantic roles which helps make better sense of a wide range of real life situations, but prescribes a culturally prized solution based on a popular belief – namely that justice is essentially about punishment.
33 Of course, synecdoche whereby an individual stands for a class, part for a whole, or material for a thing, is hardly applicable to the semantic domain of JUSTICE, representing basically a set of abstract notions.
34 Cf. the notion of semantic dimensions or dimensions of meaning in Donal Carbaugh, Cultural Discourse Analysis: Pragmatics of Social Interaction in Alessandro Capone, Jacob L. Mey (eds.), in
rver seems to be coherent with more specificity. The difference, however, appears to take precedence over specificity, as there are cases when the former appears to be important while the latter seems to be irrelevant.

4. Some historic reconstructions

In this section the analysis of some historic and current collocations with the derivatives of √‘ilm, including notably the idioms, will help us reconstruct the sociopragmatic evolution of the concept. A dramatic shift that we believe had occurred in a relatively recent time in the meaning and functioning of the concept, when it became closely associated with the domain of POWER, is somewhat concealed by the simultaneous availability to a modern speaker of the diachronically older and more recent semantic structures, of which the more archaic ones have been sustained by the Islamic normative and devotional discourses rife with quotations from the medieval language of the prophetic traditions.

4.1 ZULM at its source: Sunna and the classical lexicography

The use of the derivatives of √‘ilm as terms belonging to the domain of social relations in much the same sense as today dates to as early as the mid-9th century AD – the time when the 1st Arabic dictionary was compiled by al-Ḥaḍil ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, cf.:

wa az-zulmu aḥduka ḥaqqa ḡayrika. wa az-ẓulāmatu maẓlamatuka taṭlubuhā ’inda az-ẓālim. wa ẓallamtu maẓlama taẓlīman i ā anba’tuhu annahu ẓālim. wa ẓulima fulanun fa-aẓẓala man, ayy i qa’ta ẓaḥalma, ayy i tamala ẓuṣulma bi ẓaḥluhi (...) wa i ṣu’lā saḥīyūn mā lā yajdiyu yuqāl: huwa maẓlūm and ZULM [is] your taking of someone else’s right, and Zulāma: your object of ZULM (i.e. something you have been unlawfully deprived of – A.B.).


35 For instance the terms nizār (conflict) and sirār (conflict, struggle) are used in reference to identical situations described at the same level of detail/abstraction, meanwhile the former mostly occurs in texts translated from European languages, reflecting a disengaged observer’s perspective, and the latter can never be used with enemy as Agent – cf. Alexander Bogomolov. Firm in the Face of the Enemy: Semantic Analysis of the Concept of Şumād in Modern Arabic. Folia Orientalia, Vol. 38, 2002, p. 46.

[which] you ask of Zālim (Agent of ŽULM). And zalālimu tazālim [37] [means] if I have let him know that he is Zālim (Agent of ŽULM), and zulīma [38] someone and izzalama [39] means sustained ŽULM of his free will (…) and if a generous [person] were asked smth. [which] he [could] not find it is said: he is mažālim [40] (Patient of ŽULM)

What is markedly different in this old usage from the modern one is the easiness, with which the Patient and Agent of ŽULM relate to each other: the gloss seems to describe a peer to peer relationship rather than that between a powerless individual and someone in the position of power. The other difference is that ŽULM may be inflicted upon oneself voluntarily or represent an act of generosity. From this perspective, ŽULM appears to mean little more than deprivation of some sort of boon owned by an individual without inflicting moral damage as is the case with the current usage. The use of the verb ahaḍ (take) in describing the nature of the transaction between the Patient and Agent of ŽULM points to an understanding of other person’s right (haqq ġayrūka) as property, as something that belongs to someone else. Yet another evidence to Property as a Theme in ŽULM [41] is the use of the verb salab (to rob, steal) in al-Lisān in the interpretation of the Quranic ayah inna a ādūmū lā ya lumū mi qāl a ārā in (Quran 4: 40) (surely Allah does not do injustice [even to the amount of] a speck of dust) [42].

The idea that haqq at its source could simply mean property is indirectly corroborated by evidence from the Arabic vernaculars: in some Arabian dialects, such as Yemeni, haqq developed into a possessive particle, the so called nota genetivi. A more familiar term for property māl appears in Lisān in the entry for √za ṭā ṭā ṭā ṭā ṭā, cf. the following glosses for the 5th verbal form tāzalām: tāzallānī fūlān ayy zālānānī mālī (someone V me meaning V me my property) and aḡāra ‘alā an-nās ḥattā yākṭura māluḥu (raided people in order for his property to increase) [43]. Al-Lisān also offers another interesting gloss for zalāmā – mana’a ‘an haqqih (prevent from his haqq) [44], which may be construed as a metonymic shift from haqq as (an item) of property to the ability to operate with such item.

[^37]: v. 2nd form 1st pers. sing. derivative of √za ṭā and the verbal noun (mašdar) or the same verb.
[^38]: v. passive 1st form 3rd p. sing. derivative of √za ṭā
[^39]: v. 8th form 3rd p. sing. of √za ṭā
[^40]: passive part. of √za ṭā
[^41]: The term Theme is used in the same sense as in the Ch. J. Fillmore’s Framenet project, as in the following definition of the frame Taking: an Agent removes a Theme from a Source so that it is in the Agent’s possession. cf. https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=frameIndex
[^44]: Ibid.
Other al-Ḥalīl’s glosses suggest the use of the verb ẓalam in reference to what could be described as a *breech in a logical cause-and-effect relationship* or the *usual course of events*, cf.: wa ẓulimat an-nāqa: nuḥirat min gayr dā’ wa lā kihār (and the she-camel ẓulima (*passive form of ẓalam*): was slain without sickness or old age), and wa ẓulimat al-ard: lam tūḥfar qattu ẓumma ḥufirat (and the land ẓulimat (*passive form of ẓalam*): had never been dug and then was dug). This meaning appears to be the link between the more familiar usage from the domain of social relations and what we reconstruct as the original meaning of √ẓlm, which we will illustrate by another medieval text, arguably an older one compared to al-Ḥalīl’s⁴⁵, cf.:

ruwia ‘an umm salama annahā ẓuqlat li-ʿutmān bni ‘affān, ṭadiyah allāhu ‘anhu: tawaḥṭi ṣawt tawaḥṭhīḥ sāḥibāka fa-ʾinnahum ẓakamā laka al-ḥaqq ẓakman ʿaw bayyānāhu wa awdahāhu ḥattā ṭabayyana ka-ʾannahu maḥājja zāhīra (…) arādat umm salama anna-hūmā lazīmā ʿan ḥaqq wa lā yazīmā wa ẓawqū ʿan al-maḥājja yamiʿnān wa lā yimālān wa minhu al-ḥadīṯ al-ʾāluq; anna abā bakr wa ʿumār ṭakmā al-ʾamra al-ḥaqq; anna abā bakr wa ʿumār ṭakmā al-ʾamra al-ḥaqq; anna abā bakr wa ʿumār ṭakmā al-ʾamra al-ḥaqq;It was transmitted from [the words of] Umm Salama that she told Uthman Ibn Affan, may Allah be pleased with him: turn your steps to where your [two] companions have turned their steps for they have trodden out for you the truth very well⁴⁶, meaning they have elucidated it and made it clear until it transpired as if it were a visible main road (…) Umm Salama meant that the two of them held on to a right (direction) and did not deviate, neither did they go out from the main road to the right, nor to the left, and from this [originates] another [prophetic] tradition: Abu Bakr and Umar held on (lit. stayed on) to the cause and did not deviate from it.

The communicative objective of the cited text is to explain a metaphor. The metaphor is materially represented in the text in the form of a collocation ẓakamā laka al-ḥaqq ẓakman (they have trodden out for you the truth very well), which brings together terms from two remote semantic domains (ẓakamā & ʿhaqq). The former term refers to a situation of traveling along a path⁴⁷ (source domain of the metaphor), and the latter one represents an abstract notion (target domain⁴⁸). The cogni-

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⁴⁶ The meaning tread is our reconstruction is inspired by such glosses as lazīmūhu for ẓaḵimtu at-ʿațlīq (cf. entry for ʿaṭlīq in Ibn Manẓūr. Lisān al-ʿArab. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955–1956, 15 vols.), but based mainly on our reading of the context – how else could one make clearer (awḍah) the path if not by persistent walking, which makes the tracks visible; in our translation the modifier very well corresponds to the form of so called maḍar muṭlaq (absolute masdar), a nominal cognate of the verb used in the syntactic position of a direct object with an emphatic function.

⁴⁷ One should not be confused by the idea of modern roads, as before getting anywhere in the desert one had to actually find the right track by reading trails and various signposts left by the predecessors.

⁴⁸ It would be a challenging task to try and define precisely what the target domain could have been for the speaker back in the early Middle Ages, but for the purposes of this study a loose definition such as the *domain of abstract ideas* appears to be sufficient.
tive surplus that the metaphor aims to add to the recipient’s understanding of the concept of TRUTH/RIGHT is that seeking truth (or the right way of doing things) is a bit like looking for the right track, when heading somewhere in the desert. The speaker uses this idea to argue for the message she tries to convey, viz. that instead of wandering around (a meaning expressed by the verb zalam) one should take guidance. The cited text, hence, appears to be significant not only for its historic value as a sample of discussions that may have occurred at an important juncture in early Islamic history, but also as a sample of a conceptual cognitive process that helped shape one of the deep underlying principles of the Islamic beliefs system, reflected in the Quranic notions of religion as a straight path (as-sirāt al-mustaqīm) and a guided journey (hudā).

The strategy used to unpack the metaphor in the cited early medieval text is essentially the same as the one we use nowadays: it is based on making the source domain more explicit (more recognizable) for the recipient by adding specific details, which also prompt additional metaphoric entailments. The verb zalam here is used to highlight one such additional detail of the source domain and features in a purely spatial/orientational sense conveying the meaning ‘to deviate’ or ‘go right and left’ from a ‘straight path’. Through the metaphoric projection the notion of TRUTH is represented as ma'ajja, which in classical dictionaries is described as wasat at-tarīq, jādda (central part of a road). TRUTH hence is metaphorically represented as a well-trodden track, the one that goes in the middle among a plethora of less clearly marked trails and derivatives of √zm represent the opposite of it.

While texts eliciting the original spatial/orientational semantics of √zm are rare, the same meaning ‘deviate’ is far easier to illustrate for the synonymous root √fwr and it appears to be well documented in both classical and modern dictionaries, cf.

jawr: (...) ḍidd al-qasād (...) tark al-qasād flī sayr (...) jāra ‘an at-tarīq: ‘adala wa al-jawr: al-mayl ‘an al-qasād wa jāra ‘alayhi flī al-ḥukm...  

49 In this case of the 2nd Caliph Uthman – from his predecessors – the two previous Righteously guided Caliphs (ḫulafāʾ rāṣidūn) – Abu Bark and ‘Umar.
50 For the notion of entailment in the conceptual metaphor theory cf. Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 1981. Metaphors we live by. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 9, 12, 44, 91, 93, 94, 97, 102 etc.
51 See maḥāja and jādda under entries for √bjj and √jdd resp. in Ibn Manẓūr. Lisān al-ʿArab. Beirut: Dār  ādir, 1955–1956, 15 vols.; jādda appears to have been a more basic notion for the classical lexicographers as maḥāja is explained through jādda, while the latter is described as muʿẓam at-tarīq (major part of the road), wasāṭahu (i.e. at-tarīq – central part of the road), and at-tarīq al-aʿẓam allaḏī yajmaʿat-turūq (the greatest road, which connects/combines all roads).
52 Consider also the following gloss on maḥāja from the same entry √bjj: wa yaqūl li-l-ard al-mustawṣiyya layṣa fīrām wa lā iʿtīlāf (and [it is] said of a flat land, in which there is no sand, nor difference/divergence) – obviously, one cannot be sure when one steps on sand – only a flat and solid ground can preserve a track visible for a traveler– ibid.
53 Lisān al-ʿArab, entry jawr.
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JAWR: (…) opposite of purpose (object, intent) (…) abandoning of purpose (destination) in traveling (…) stray from the path: deviate and JAWR: the deviation from the purpose/destination and deviated against him in judgment.\(^{54}\)

Cf. also the modern glosses \(jāra\) at-\(tāriq\): \(lān\) yu\(h\)tada \(fīh\) (strayed [from] the path: has not been guided on it) and \(jāra\) \(fī\) ḥukmīh: \(zāl\)amā (deviated in judging him – wronged [him])\(^{55}\), which point to a synonymous relationship between the derivatives of \(\sqrt{JWR}\) and \(\sqrt{Zlm}\) and counterpose ZULM and HUDĀ.

Property as a Theme in ZULM is still preserved in an idiom (proverb) \(mān\) ḥakam \(fī\) mā\(lī\)hī mā \(zāl\)am (\(h\)e who disposed of his property has not wronged), which is usually used to justify someone’s decision regarding his/her property in a situation when such decision may hurt another person’s interests (e.g. father favoring one son over the other in his will). Another proverb \(āz\)lam \(mīn\) al-\(h\)ayya (\(aф\) ‘ā) (\(āz\)lam) than the snake), despite a popular interpretation featuring already in the classical Arabic dictionaries, which attributes it to the supposed habit of snakes to appropriate burrows dug by other animals, cf. \(wā\) yuqāl \(āz\)lam \(mīn\) al-\(h\)ayya \(lī\)-\(ā\)n̄ā\(hū\) \(tā’\) al-\(j\)uhrā \(l\)am taḥtāfū\(rū\)\(h\) \(fā\) taskunuh (and it is said: \(āz\)lam than the snake because it comes to a burrow [that] it has not dug and inhabits it)\(^{57}\), – may in fact be a reflection of the source meaning of \(\sqrt{Zlm}\) as described above, i.e. ‘go right and left, deviate from a straight path’, which is exactly how the snake moves. The proverb, hence, may have originally meant ‘less straightforward than a snake’. Finally, another popular proverb \(mān\) šābah abāhū mā \(zāl\)am (\(h\)e who resembles his father has not wronged)\(^{58}\) seems to preserve the link to another historic sub-meaning of the root ‘breech in the usual course of events, or cause and effect chain’, which we have discussed above, in this section.

4.2 ZULM and power relations in the mediaeval Arabic

The idea of complaining about ZULM is Arabic is expressed by a group of derivatives of the same root, which in modern usage include the 5th form verbal form \(tāz\)allam (complain/ask for redemption of injustice), and \(ma\)q\(l\)ima (subject of complaint, item to be redeemed)\(^{59}\). In the classical dictionaries, the Complaint/Redemp-

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54 The phrase may refer to either common misjudgment or miscarriage of law.
56 Adj. comp. deg. from \(\sqrt{Zlm}\), the modern speaker certainly understands this form as more tyrannical or more unjust, but it does not have to be the original meaning of the form in the this context, for which reason we have refrained from entering any specific English equivalent in the translation of the proverb at this stage.
58 The kinship term may be changed according to specific context.
59 Although the idea of Complaint may be also expressed by a more generic verb \(ṣahyā\)ṣ\(k\)ā (to complain), it appears that the native speakers give preference to the cognate verb, for instance the phrase
tion_request frame expressed by these derivatives may be often described as a situation, when Patient of ZULM (mażlûm) directly approaches the Agent of ZULM (zâlîm) asking him to redeem the damage, which implies an equal power status of both parties, cf. the following gloss from Lisān al-‘Arab: az-żulûmârwa az-zâlîmarwa al-mażlûmâr: mâ taţlubuh ‘inda az-zâlîm (the matter of complaint [is] what you ask/seek from the wrongdoer). On the other hand, as other classical glosses suggest the Complaint/Redemption_request frame also may have a slot for a (powerful) Intermediary, which appears to be the only way, by which power relations may be encoded in the concept in the mediaeval Arabic, cf.: wa yuqālu: ta allama fulān un ilā al-ākim i min fulān in fa allamah u tâlm an āy an afah u min ālimih i wa a“ānah u “alayh (and they say: someone complained to the ruler against someone and [the latter] satisfied the complaint meaning was fair/just to him [by redeeming the evil] from his wrongdoer and assisting him against him). These observations suggest that ZULM (together with other frames that inherit from it) referred to social transactions between peers in Classical Arabic.

4.3 ZULM between psychology and morale

The Islamic normative discourse portrays ZULM as an immanent characteristic of human psyche:

... fa-inna az-zulma ṭabī‘a bašariyya tanzi‘u ilayhā an-nafs, wa tanhadiru ilayhā at-ṭabī‘i‘, fa-hiya jibilla mutajajdira fi nafs al-insān “wa ḥamalahā al-insānu innahu kāna zâlûman jahûlan”

... for ZULM [is] human nature [that] the soul yearns/is inclined to, and the characters roll down to it, and it is an innate quality/natural disposition rooted in human soul “and the man bore it, indeed he was zâlûm (adjective cognate of ZULM – A.B.) and ignorant” (Quran 33:72)

yâskā zûlûm (he complains of injustice) returned 18,000 results on Google search, while the synonymous yatazâllam – 164,000 results (data as of 1 August, 2016).

The gloss contains three synonyms, of which the 1st one is also used in the sense of the act of complaining.


There seems to be no other interpretation possible here of the 2nd form verb zâllam, which elsewhere in the Lisān is interpreted as accuse someone of being zâlîm (the agent of ZULM) and appears to be a rare and certainly not a modern usage.


It is notable how the language of simple physical reality is metaphorically deployed to construct human inner world, where psychological predisposition is represented as the natural downward rolling tendency of rounded objects placed on top of a slope. ZULM, by entailment, appears to be located at the bottom of the universe of human soul, while its supposed prevalence among the humans is accounted for by a universal natural pull akin to the law of gravitation.

The belief in the natural inclination of the human psyche to ZULM is also reflected in its association with a group of lexis functioning as occasional synonyms to the derivatives of √zml but originating from the semantic domain of psychological and socio-psychological states and acts, e.g. bağ/bağy (seek, desire, but with the preposition alā – upon, against – also oppress, commit outrage), and gašam/gašm (treat unjustly or tyrannically, to wrong, oppress, but also to act thoughtlessly, haphazardly, with the latter in all probability being the original meaning of the verb). We will note here in passing that through the periphery of the root √ğy ZULM appear to connect to the other part of its rather frequent collocation in the political discourse – FASĀD (corruption, moral decay).

Physical strength or other material abilities of an individual are also believed to be a factor of ZULM. This appears to be quite coherent with the above stated belief in the psychological inclination of human psyche to ZULM: once an individual has a material capacity to oppress or wrong other people he will feel an even stronger pull of this evil force on him. Here is a very common Islamic admonition to those who might be tempted by their excessive abilities to oppress others: if yā da’atka qudratuka alā ẓulm an-nās fa-tālak qudrat a āh alayka (if your power/ability has called you to wrong the people, remember the power/ability of Allah upon you).

The natural attraction toward ZULM that people ostensibly harbor may justify (or rather be justified by) the presence of evil in the mundane world but it is certainly not presented as a cultural license for the Agent of ZULM. All nominations associated with this semantic role, including zālim, jā’ir and tāqiya convey the idea of strongly negative evaluation tantamount to moral condemnation. ZULM is related to the domain of ethical/moral terms not only through its Agent but also through its Patient slot. In the political discourse, the damage/loss cause by ZULM appears to be more often of moral rather than material nature, cf.:

66 Vices in this metaphorical model are placed at the bottom of Soul as Container, while virtues are at the top, which complies with spatial metaphors GOOD is UP and BAD is DOWN as described in Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 2003. Metaphors we live by. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
67 For the sake of economy here we have used English equivalents list borrowed from the relatively concise Wehr, H. 1976. A dictionary of modern written Arabic. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. 3rd ed. Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, Inc.
68 Consider such derivatives as biğā’ (prostitution), bagiy (whore), mahgu (brothel) etc.
69 Cf. examples (1), (2) and (3) in the Introduction.
70 The phrase has returned about 168,000 results on Google search as of 8 April, 2016.
...sa-astaḥṣadu bi-ḥalaqa min bārnāmāj fī al-mayyādān ʿallaḏī ṣāraktu fī taqddimīḥī ‘alā qanāt at-tahfīr (…) qumtu fīḥā bi-iṭṭarah qaḍiyat ṣulm aṣ-ṣanāḥa’ allaḏīna saqātū amām aqṣām aṣ-ṣurṭa wa at-taqfiq baynahum wa baqiyyāt aṣ-ṣanāḥa’ bi-ittihām al-kāḥība tankur kayf kāḥat al-aqṣām saḥḥānīt li-ta’qdīb wa az-zulm…

...I will cite as evidence an episode of the program ‘In the Maidan’ in whose presentation I have participated on Tahrir channel (…) in which I have raised the issue of ZULM against the martyrs, who had fallen in front of police stations and the differentiation between them and the rest of martyrs on [the ground of] false accusation [which] deny how the police stations had been slaughterhouses for torture and ZULM...

Obviously, the deceased martyrs cannot have been deprived of anything material, they are, however, believed to be capable of sustaining some profound immaterial loss, for although not stating it explicitly the paragraph implies that ZULM has affected somehow the moral persona of the dead (something that in a similar English context may have been described as pride or good name). When it comes to the living people, ZULM is also associated with the subjective feeling of moral pains and humiliation, conveyed by the intonation, with which the often-heard Arabic phrase anā ma l m (lit. I am wronged) is usually pronounced. Pragmatically, this phrase ordinarily functions as an opening to complaint.

The list of idioms based on the derivatives of √zālim includes a question phrase (hal) X zālim aw (am) mazlūm (is X a wrongdoer or a wronged one – i.e. an Agent or a Patient of ZULM), which appears to be a frequent occurrence in political media discourse and may be asked in relation to an individual, a thing or an abstract notion (the latter being the case of the metaphor of personification), cf. Ahmad Šāfiq zālim am mazlūm (is Ahmad Šāfiq wrongdoer or wronged one?)74, at-tāʾībī tāʾīb am mazlūm (is auto rickshaw wrongdoer or wronged one?)75, at-tūrī zālim am mazlūm (is history wrongdoer or wronged on?)76. The idiomaticity of the phrase zālim aw mazlūm could probably be attributed to the power of a frequently cited hadith unṣur ʿaḍīka zāliman aw mazlūman (support your brother [whether as wrongdoer or wronged one]77, which may even appear in political media discourse in a paraphrased form, cf.: sa’d ad-dīn ʾibrahīm: dāliya ziyāda tunsār as-sīsī zāliman aw mazlūman (Sa’d ad-Din Ibrahim: Daliya Ziyada supports Sisi [whether

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71 http://goo.gl/YTaVp0
72 A specific type of complaint called taqżīl or zaqlūma, which we have discussed in section 4.2 above.
73 As of 22 June, 2016, the Google search based on Egyptian sources only returned 7,440 results for zālim aw mazlūm and 511 more for the synonymous phrase zālim am mazlūn.
74 A title on http://www.masralarabia.com/ – see http://goo.gl/1IP1tDJ
75 A title on http://www.almessa.net.eg/main_messa.asp?v_article_id=207326#.Vr3Yf1R96k2
76 An article title by a well-known Egyptian 20th cent. author Abbās Māḥmūd al-Qāʾūd published in 1953 – http://www.hindawi.org/blogs/51357195/
he is] the wrongdoer or the wronged one. The salience of the question phrase points to an interesting quality of ZULM – its universal applicability as a standard of measurement, reflecting a panmoralist view of the world, and a rather polarized one at that.

Such panmoralist perspective is reflected in other Islamic normative texts as reflected in the following hadith: la-zawāl ad-dunyā ahwan ‘alā al-lāhi ‘azza wa jalla min safk dam muslim bi-gayr haqq (surely the demise of this world is lesser for Allah Almighty than spilling of a Muslim’s blood unjustly – lit. without right). Here is an interesting hadith text, which effectively implies a vision of human society as interconnected through and through by relationships, in which everyone is simultaneously Patient and Agent of ZULM toward each other, cf.:

\[
\text{idā ḥaša al-mu’mūna min an-nār ḥubisū bi-qantara bayna al-jannati wa an-nār fa-yataqāsīna mazālima kānat baynahum fī ad-dunyā hattā idā naqū wa ḥudūdū uḏīna lahum bi-duḥūl al-jamā'ah}
\]

If the Muslims escape from the fire (i.e. hell) they will be held at a bridge between the paradise and fire (hell) and retaliate to each other[wrongdoings (a cognate of zulm)] [that] were between them in [this] world (i.e. in their worldly existence) until they become pure and were rectified (corrected, set right, improved) and it is permitted to them to enter the paradise...

Al-‘Asqalānī’s commentary to this text contains a characteristic definition of mazālim as ism li-mā ṣuqūt bi-gayr haqq (name for what was taken without right). The cited hadith points to the coherence and even complementarity embedded in the Islamic religious discourses, between the notions of ZULM and another concept that appears to be highly salient in the discourse of the Egyptian Arab Spring – QIŠAŞ (RETAILIATION). What binds the two concepts together could be described as a moral economy principle, which is quite similar to debts should be repaid principle, much and long discussed in the European books on ethics.

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78 http://goo.gl/lYOcSq It is interesting to note that the paraphrased version of the often cited hadith apparently disregards the usual Islamic jurists’ interpretation that the requirement to support ‘your brother’ while he is doing something wrong should be fulfilled by ‘preventing him from doing it’.


81 This meaning is expressed by the reciprocal 6th verbal form, cognate of qisāš (retaliation).

82 The so called ħāṣiya ( sidenote).

83 Ibid. p. 114.


85 See, for instance, Rosalind Hursthouse. What does the Aristotelian Phronimos know? in L. Jost, J. Wuerth (eds.) Perfecting Virtue. New Essays on Kantian Ethics and Virtue Ethics. Cambridge Univer-
The belief that ZULM accounts permeating the entire social fabric can only be settled at the end of times elevates ZULM to a level of transcendental phenomenon.

5. Interdiscursivity: religious discourses and the domain of politics

An individual concept may vary significantly across different discourses, while maintaining an unmistakable family resemblance. The cross-discursive differences may also be semiotized both to modify and enrich the meaning of the concept in the target discourse, such as political discourse, or more specifically, the discourse of the Egyptian Arab Spring, and help achieve certain communicative goals. In this section we will illustrate two basic contentions:

1. The semantics of ZULM in general political discourse was affected profoundly by what is known as political Islam (a.k.a. Islamist) discourses, which we believe to essentially represent a blending of the Islamic normative and left-leaning political discourses.

2. The events of January 25 revolution found reflection in a set of disparate discourses including the normative and the devotional Islamic ones (more specifically, the genre of mosque sermons), the leftist and liberal political discourses. All these discourses operate independently, each in their specific social context, but are accessible to overlapping audiences within the speech community. They also blend in such common sites as the media, where they contribute to the production of the new revolutionary discourse. The manner, in which key concepts, such as ZULM, function in the revolutionary discourse, is effectively a resultant of these other, more stable discourses with long history of circulation in the speech community. The interplay of meanings, which occur in this manner, does not result from a deliberate action in the sense of any individual or group authorship, (although an element of individual initiative cannot be excluded either), but rather of a collective activity guided by a sense of commonality of communicative purpose.

5.1 Signposts on the road: how the Islamist discourse reshaped ZULM

According to S. Khatab, a key ideologue of modern political Islam Sayyid Qutb was using the terms ‘tyranny’ and ‘oppression’ to describe the contemporary socio-political order in Egypt as early as in 1925–193986. In doing so he certainly was not...

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86 Sayed Khatab. The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb. The theory of jāhilyyah. Routledge. London, NY, 2006, p. 62; although Kharab does not provide Arabic equivalents for these terms, it appears to be clear that by the latter term he must have meant ẓulm.
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alone. Much later, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Salam Faraj, a leader and ideologue of a violent extremist group that assassinated the president Anwar as-Sadat, during his official interrogation in 1982 also referred to ‘the oppression and the violence of the State against sharia and against Muslims’⁸⁷ (emphasis added – A.B.). The innovation that Qutb and other proponents of his political theory, which construed the contemporary Arab states as essentially un-Islamic tyrannies, which the true Muslims should oppose⁸⁸, compared to the traditional normative Islamic discourse, which still continues to treat the concept as a social transaction among peers, was that it had developed ZULM into a brief theory of power and state. Here is a paragraph from Qutb’s last and arguably the most important book Ma‘ālim fī aṭ-Ṭariq (Signposts on the Road)⁸⁹ describing an ideal society:

wa taṭahhar al-mujtama‘ min az-zulm bi-jumlatihi, wa qāma an-nizām al-islāmī ya‘dil bi-‘adl aḥā wa yazin bi-mīzān aḥā wa yarfa‘ al-‘adālā al-iḥtīmā ‘iyya bi-smi-llāh⁹⁰ and the society was purified from ZULM in its entirety and the Islamic order had risen [which] administers justice by Allah’s justice and weighs by Allah’s scales and raises the social justice it the name of Allah…

The paragraph characteristically combines an approximation of Muslim sermon style with terms borrowed from secular leftist discourses. Note particularly the notion of social justice, which would become a prominent idea in the January 25 revolutionary discourse and part of the revolution’s official motto. The narrowing of the much wider moral and even eschatological notion of ZULM to the only type of relationship, viz. that between the powers that be and their disenfranchised subjects, could only happen through a blending of the religious and revolutionary leftist discourses. The two discourses share a set of important underlying presumptions, such as a simplified conception of power relations, the wholesale rejection of the status quo and the belief that history is divided in phases defined characterized by different levels of social justice the belief that a rapid transition from a worse to a better type of society may be brought about by a deep indoctrination and mobilization of masses, culminating in revolution. In contrast to the leftist idea of progress, the Muslim history according to Qutb appears to be cyclic. Qutb’s greatest ideological innovation was defining the contemporary Muslim politics and society in terms of the

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⁸⁸ The theory built around the idea that the contemporary Muslim societies had deviated from their religion to the extent of becoming a type of jāhilyyah (ignorance, barbarianism), the terms used in classical texts in reference to the pre-Islamic Arabs.
pre-Islamic period of so called Jāhiliyya (Ignorance). It is in Qutb’s conception that ZULM assumed its function of political term, a key element in the definition of the old unjust political system as opposed to the new one that true Muslims should aspire, cf. the following characteristic description of Jāhiliyya:

\[\text{kān at-tażālum fāsīyyī fī al-mujtama', tu'abbir 'anhu fikrat aš-šā'ir zuhayr bnu ābī sulmā; wa man lam ya ud 'an āw ihi bi silā ih yuhaddam wa man lam yaẓlim yuẓlam wa ya'abbir 'anhu al-qawl al-muta'āraf 'alayhi fī al-jāhiliyya “unṣūr ałājīa załīman aw maẓlīman”}^91\].

wronging each opeth (the reciprocal 6th form of ṣalām) was spread in the society, as expressed by an opinion of the poet Zuhayr Abu-Sulma: and [he] who has not defended himself by his weapon would be destroyed and [he] who has not wronged would be wronged [himself], which is expressed in the common saying in [the times of] Jahiliyya “support you brother [whether] as wrongdoer or the wronged [one]”^92.

Following in the leftists steps, Qutb redesigned an essentially religious ethics notion of innate human Injustice, conceived of as an atemporal quality, into an ideological term referenced to specific historic period and political condition, just like the leftists’ did with the term Oppression. He has actually helped make ZULM the best Arabic equivalent of the latter, while simultaneously reinforcing its religious connotations^93. As we see, without being fully consistent in substance and tenor, the leftist and Islamist discourses appear to be quite coherent in their most basic layout^94. The January 25 – February 11, 2011 protests in Cairo’s Tahrir square provided a unique site for the continued encounter and cross-breeding these two discourses.

What Qutb was faced with was basically the same dilemma that the modern revolutionary socialists, the true šabāb at-tawra (the revolutionary youth) and its ultimate driving force, faced when in early 2011 they were discussing the legitimacy of using the strongly Islamic normative concept of QIṢĀS (retaliation) as a revolutionary slogan. Without even thinking about Qutb they followed his recipe in trying to sell the basics of the revolt to a crowd, whose only reference base in the sociopolitical sphere was their religion. Qutb, though, seems to have done it a bit more decisively and wholeheartedly.

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^91 Ibid. p. 26–27.
^92 As we have seen in Section 5.1 above, the cited phrase is actually part of the hadith, rather than ‘common saying’, for reference see footnote 81.
^93 We may have exaggerated Qutb’s role in effecting a shift in the meaning and function of an important cultural concept, but irrespective of whether he could bring about this change alone in his capacity of a single most important Arabic Islamist author of his days, this does not deny the validity of change as such as well as the role of the Islamist discourse in effecting it and the appropriateness of citing Qutb as an illustration.
^94 At the level of frame-semantic structures and associated ideas that shape them.
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It is for the concepts with long history of circulation in the religious discourse, such as ZULM and QIŠĀṢ, that it becomes possible to view politics from an eschatological perspective, and for the religious discourses to directly interfere in the political domain. In the course of January 25 revolution, mosques functioned as a key instrument of mass mobilization and sites of discursive defiance. Sermon (ḥuttaḥ) and duʿā (supplication or invocation as opposed to a more formulaic prayer, ṣalāt) may in this context be seen as genres mediating between the Islamic normative (by extension also Islamist) and political discourses. As a speech genre, sermon has many constraints, e.g. it gives strong preference to generic names as opposed to nominations with unambiguously specific referents, such as proper names. Even stricter constraints apply to duʿā. It is, therefore, significant, if duʿā does include some terms resonating with wider political discussion of the day, such as dawlat aẓ-ẓulum (state of ZULM), cf.:

... aḥhumma ka-mā azalta dawlat aẓ-ẓulum wa aṣ-ṣuğyân.. fa-ātimm ‘alā miṣra ni’mat al-amm wa al-īmān.. wa as-salāma wa al-islām.. wa asbīḥ ‘alayhā ni’amaka žāhiratan wa bāṭınat.. wa urzuqā fīhā al-amn wa al-amān.. wa al-‘ayn fī salām.. 95

...o Allah, as you have eliminated the state of ZULM and despotism.. accomplish over Egypt the grace of security and faith.. and health and Islam.. and bestow upon it your graces perspicuous and innermost.. and provide in it security and safety… and life in peace.

Powerful as they are as instruments of political persuasion, the devotional texts do not make the news, and, therefore, are seldom cited in the common media discourse. Texts of sermons and duʿā have nevertheless become widely available beyond their immediate mosque congregations, eagerly sought after and traded across wide audiences of devoted Muslims with the advent of electronic media.

Although not strictly overlapping in terms of shared public discussion sites and textual dimension, albeit connected through a common set of key concepts, the two types of discourses – religious (normative and devotional) and political – may function in counterpoint to each other as two distinct but complementary96 modes of public commentary over the same sociopolitical reality97 with different sets of speakers but largely the same recipients.

95 An excerpt from a 2,235 word long prayer (duʿā) recited by Sheikh Muhammad Jibrīl on Laylat al-Qadr (Night of Power) on the 26th of Ramadan (26 August), 2011; it is believed that good deeds (notably, prayers) performed on this occasion are worth more than those accomplished over one thousand months as according to Quran 97: 3, laylatu-l-qadr hayrun min alfi ahrin (the night of Power is better than a thousand months) http://www.jebril.com/ar/supplications/quran-completion/doaa-1432

96 The two discourses serve different but compatible functions, e.g. the religious discourse has a strong regulatory dimension, greater persuasiveness, but its referential scope is limited compared to the common political discourse – it cannot the political process in detail.

97 Cf. the notion of meta-cultural commentary in D. Carbaugh. Cultural Discourse Analysis: Pragmatics of Social Interaction. in Alessandro Capone • Jacob L. Mey (Eds.), Interdisciplinary Studies in Pragmatics, Culture and Society p. 566.
Elements of the religious discourses interfere with the political discourse more directly in what could be described as citational mode. For instance, an apparently high occurrence of the 2nd person plural form та salirā in the Egyptian segment of Internet98, at a closer look, can be mostly accounted for by citations of a single text of Sunnah yā ‘ibādī innī ḥarramtu az-zulma ‘alā nafṣī wa ja’al-tuhu muḥarraman fa-lā tā salirā (oh my servants, I have prohibited ZULM upon myself and made it prohibited, therefore, do not wrong each other)99. As an instance of so called sacred (or divine) hadith (hadīth qudsi)100 this text speaks to humans in the name of Allah, in which perspective both the Agents and Patients of ZULM appear to be equal. When cited in the contemporary political discourse characterized by a significant power disparity between Zālim and Maẓlūm, such texts serve a socio-pragmatic purpose of empowering the oppressed against oppressor, by putting them both rhetorically on an equal footing.

6. ZULM in modern political discourse

6.1 ZULM and Power

Entities/social actors representing (political) POWER – Ruler, Regime or State (ḥākim, nizām, dawla)101 in the discourse of the January 25 revolution, and earlier political opposition discourses appear to be closely associated with the concept of ZULM, cf.:


my question is addressed to (lit. is heading toward) gentlemen decision makers and influencers in the ruling regime (lit. regime of rule) and it is briefly [as follows]: why are you persisting in ZULM [against] the people and in systematic repressive practices despite the rising anger of the people (…)? Spare us from the myth of oppression for the sake of security…

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98 82,700 results on Google search as of 12 March, 2016.
100 Sacred or divine hadith (hadīth qudsi) is a type of hadith containing the direct speech of Allah as opposed to the bulk of hadith, which comprises acts and sayings of the prophet Muḥammad.
101 These are the key entities (social roles) that appear in various context to specify the broader concept of political POWER.
102 http://goo.gl/74I6gh
ULM often features as a definitive – if not the only – characteristic of the pre-revolutionary State. The phrase *dawlat aż-ulm* (the state of ULM) returned about 11,500 results for the Egyptian sites, as of 25 March 2015. The *state of ZULM* is cited as affectively the *reason* behind the revolution\textsuperscript{103}, cf.:

\begin{quote}
tilkā ad-dawla allāfi taḥnuq aš-ša‘āb wa tata‘ālā ‘alayh ūa ḍiddahā aš-ša‘āb al-mišrī bi-rummatihā fī yanāyir, lam takun aṯ-ja‘wra ḍidd mubārak saḥṣiyān, wa lākin kānat ḍidd dawla zālima bi-jamī‘ mu‘assasāthā wa aḥzizāthā al-idāriyya, wa lān yuktamal iṁṯār aṯ-ja‘wra dūna hadm *dawlat aż-ulm* (...) ḥattā tastaṭfī‘aṯ-ja‘wra an tabnī dawlatahā al-badila...\textsuperscript{104}
\end{quote}

That state, which strangles the people and rises above it, the whole of the Egyptian people has made revolution against it in January, [which] was not revolution against Mubarak personally, but was against *oppressive* (congnate of *ulm* – A.B.) *state* with all its institutions and administrative bodies, and the victory of the revolution will never be complete until the ruining of the state of ZULM (...) until the revolution will be able to build its alternative state...

It is this construction *dawlat az-ZULM* that helps reconstrue ZULM as a concept belonging to the domain of politics as opposed to its original domain of inner person and morale, which we discussed above.

In line with spatial metaphor POWER is UP\textsuperscript{105} the *state of ZULM* is represented in the political discourse as a *high vertical construction* (an entity that stands tall but may shake and fall), cf.:

\begin{quote}
kull mā ḥadāṯ munḍu lāl-ḥaṣa al-ūlā ḥattā at-tanahhū lām yakun illā al-ja‘wla al-ūlā fī al-ma‘araka al-fāṣila, al-ja‘wla allāfī ḥusimat li-šālīḥ aṯ-ja‘wra ‘īndamā faqadat dawlat aż-ulm ittiqānahā wa tarannahat...\textsuperscript{106}
\end{quote}

all what happened since the first moment until the resignation [of Mubarak] had been nothing but the first round in the decisive battle, the round that was decided to the benefit of the revolution when the state of ZULM lost its equilibrium and swung

\textsuperscript{103} This appears to be the key nomination expressing this idea in the discourse of the Egyptian Arab Spring, by far outscoring the 2\textsuperscript{nd} most frequent synonymous nomination – *niẓām az-ulm* (the regime of ZULM), which has returned about 2,920 results on Google search and *aŋ-niẓām aŋ-zūlīm* – about 1,970 results (as of May 6, 2016).

\textsuperscript{104} An article titled ‘The State and the Army... between ruining and construction’ (ad-dawla wa al-jayš ... bayn al-hadm wa al-binā‘). In al-Yasār aṯ-Ṭawrī (The Revolutionary Left), January 31, 2012 https://elthawry.wordpress.com/2012/01/31

\textsuperscript{105} Cf. Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 2003. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Lakoff and Johnson cite a number of metaphors, which may be summarized as metaphors of Power, e.g. FORCE is UP (p. 15), HIGH STATUS is UP (p. 16), CONTROL is UP (p. 17).

\textsuperscript{106} Article title *aṯ-ja‘wra mustamirra* (the revolution continues), 20 January 2013 – http://www.ansarportsaid.net/Visitors/349/Details.aspx
In modern usage ZULM also is metaphorically represented as an *object falling from above*, cf.:

su’āl yādūr bi-ḏīhnī wa rubba-mā bi-ḍāḥān al-kaṭīrin min al-mutābi‘īn li-mā yajrī bi-miṣr al-kināna wa as- su’āl huwa hal waqa’ zulm ‘alā ar-ra’īs al-miṣrī muḥammad mutṣī?\(^{107}\)

A question is on my mind (*lit. turning around my mind*) and probably on the minds of many of [those who] follow what is going on in Egypt al-Kinana (a traditional epithet of the country – A.B.) and the question is whether ZULM had fallen on the Egyptian president Muhammad Mursi?

Not only ZULM may fall on a person, but one may also fall under ZULM (which is still not incoherent with the idea of *object falling from above*), cf.:

wa aḏāfa ad-dīb ēdīb ilāl murāfa’atihi amām maḥkamat jināyāt al-qāhirah (...) anna muḥārak waqa’ taḥt az-zulm al-bayyīn wa lákin lam yahazz izānuhu li-ḥa-lāṣa wāḥida bi-anna al-lāḥa sawf yuṣrūhu wa anna al-qadā’i sawf yuṣṣīfūh\(^{108}\).

And ad-Dib added during his presentation in front of the Criminal Court of Cairo (...) that Mubarak had fallen under an obvious ZULM, but his faith had not shaken [even] for a single moment in that Allah would support him and the justice would be fair to him.

Causing ZULM is metaphorically represented as *letting fall* (from somewhere above). It appears that although ZULM is caused by a human agency the relation between it and the ultimate source of ZULM is indirect, it is not a human action that represents ZULM in a direct sense, but ZULM as a result of a certain type of action, cf.:

fa-al-fi’l nafsuh mumkin an yuqi’ zulm\(^{109}\) wa mumkin an yuqi’ ‘adl\(^{109}\), fa-qatl an-nafs awqa’ az-zulm ‘alā al-maqtūl wa qatl al-qāṭil awqa’ ‘alā ‘adl ‘alā al-qāṭil

For the same act may bring down ZULM and may bring down JUSTICE, as the manslaughter (*lit. killing the soul*) brought down ZULM upon the killer and killing the killer brought down JUSTICE upon the killer.

In Arabic, there is at least one more trouble that may befall an individual or a human collective, which could metaphorically *fall* upon them. In this case clearly the *falling* is caused by an entity, placed high above, i.e. metaphorically, in the position of POWER. The name of this type of trouble is *punishment* (*uqūba*) cf.:

al-aḥlī yūqi’ ‘uqūba kābirā ‘alā lāḥī ba’d tajāwuzihi ma’a ḥuṣayn as-sāyyid\(^{110}\).

Al-Ahli (sport club) imposes (*lit. is letting fall*) big punishment on Gali over his violation with Husain as-Sayyid.

\(^{107}\) An op-ed by Rāṭib ‘Ababna. With impartiality and objectivity … was Mursi wronged? (bi-tajjarud wa al-mawdū’iyya … hal zulima al-mursī), 5 July, 2013 http://www.maqalaty.com/41444.html

\(^{108}\) http://www.elfagr.org/654378

\(^{109}\) https://goo.gl/3mfXmS

Being UP, from where it falls or is helped to fall, if not directly places ZULM in association with some sort of POWER, then in the space beyond human control (normally we don’t look up when we move around and we can’t reach up above our own height), hence falling from above may metaphorically express FATALITY\textsuperscript{111}. In the example below ZULM has already occurred and its Patient is described as being under it. ZULM features here in a context similar to the word yoke in English, for which it could be substituted easily should the paragraph be given a ‘literary’ translation, cf.:

\begin{quote}
filāsīṯ al-waḥīḏa bi-l-ʾālam allātī tarzah taḥt zulm al-iḥṭilāl wa ʿunsūriyyatihī... wa isrāʿil tazum annāhā fawq al-jamīʿ wa yajib ʿirjūhā al-ḥaqiq li-Šābīḥa\textsuperscript{112}
\end{quote}

Palestine [is] the only [one] in the world, which [is] languishing under ZULM of occupation and its racism... and Israel thinks itself above all and it must be forced to return the right (ḥaqq) to its holders.

ZULM, that may well appear to be redundant here to a European translator, is in fact the principle that indirectly guides the choice of elements in what may otherwise appear to be a descriptive phrase. Racism here specifies the moral aspect of ZULM\textsuperscript{113}. ZULM comes from above i.e. from places beyond human control. Both constituents of the concept – the idea of moral pains sustained by the Patient of ZULM and link to POWER/FATALITY as its ultimate cause are again emphasized by the choice of of razālā as predicate, which we have translated as languish for a lack of a better option, but whose semantics is based on a spatial metaphor BAD is DOWN\textsuperscript{114}, which is also reflected in the preposition taḥt (under) that goes with the verb. While Israel is presented as a source or cause of ZULM, it only thinks that it is above all, a phrase clearly meant to rhetorically portray it as less powerful. What it has to do is to return the right (ḥaqq), which is part of the standard definition of ZULM reversed\textsuperscript{115}. The entailment of this line of spatial metaphors applied to ZULM is that to overcome it one needs to lift it, cf.:
Alexander Bogomolov

Under the slogan of ‘Supporting Justice’ UNICEF is launching a campaign to lift ZULM from the poorest children with the participation of the world’s celebrities…

While ZULM within this set of spatial-mechanic metaphors is represented as a heavy object that falls from above and may press down its Patient, it takes someone powerful to lift it. It is therefore not accidental that some sort of authority (institution, official etc.) would normally feature as the Agent of lifting ZULM.

6.2 Escape routes: ZULM and TIME

The notion of dawlat az-ZULM (the state of ZULM), which is very salient in the discourse of the Egyptian revolution, appears to describe an overwhelming and total political reality that no one seems to be able to escape. Yet while the state of ZULM is constructed in spatial terms, its referent being a country – Egypt, a whole set of idioms in Arabic portray the fourth dimension – temporal – as a likely remedy from ZULM.

A few stable collocations point to the fact that the temporal dimension of ZULM represents a matter of keen interest and conscious public reflection for Egyptians, highlighting what appears to be a popular belief in the transient nature of ZULM, which may be an extension of a more generic belief in the imminent end of sufferings or the transience of all other mundane phenomena. Indeed, the phrase may often be used as a solace to those, who are in trouble. Here are some of these collocations: (dawlat) az-zulm sā’a 118 ([the state of] ZULM [is] one hour), (kul)l zālim lahu nihāya 119 (wrongdoer has an end – meaning ‘is not immortal’ or ‘may not forever go unpunished’), occasionally also in a plural form as li-kull az-zālimīn lahum nihāya (all wrongdoers have an end), and, finally, (az)-zulm lahu nihāya 120 (ZULM has an end). The idea had been so popular during the heyday of the revolution that later, in the context of anti-Sisi protests by Muslim Brotherhood supporters, the phrase az-zulm lahu nihāya even became part of a vernacular Arabic slogan that

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116 http://s.youm7.com/2475989
117 Again, in our sample as analyzed here, we have included Egyptian material only, bearing in mind the need to ensure a certain unity of sociopolitical context, which appears to be essential for the manner, in which concepts function in the political discourse.
118 3,700 total results with 3,600 results for the extended phrase with the head word dawla (state), as of 22 May 2016.
119 1,840 Google search results as of 22 May 2016.
120 133 results for the indefinite form, and 699 – for the definite one on Google search, as of 22 May 2016.
A necessary evil: the concept of ZULM in Arab political discourse and its historic roots

protesters chanted on the streets – ‘az-zulm lahu nihāya wa al-hurriya gāyya gāyya’\(^1\) (ZULM has an end and the freedom is coming, coming). It is interesting to note that \(\text{zulm}\) in this context is contrasted to \(\text{hurriya}\), a key value concept of the revolutionary discourse and part of its officially cited moto ‘\(\text{ayš, hurriya, karūma insāniyya, ‘adāla ijtīmā’iyya}\) (bread, freedom, human dignity, social justice), as opposed to its formal antonym – ‘\(\text{ādīl}\). The two concept here affectively tag the pre-revolutionary past and the aspired post-revolutionary future.

It is not merely due to the relative stability (idiomaticity) or the frequency of these phrases that we identify the idea of the \textit{transient nature} of ZULM as a belief. We base our conclusion that this idea does represent a belief on the linguo-pragmatic function that the appropriate phrases assume in the text. They persistently feature in the argumentative and (almost) never in the asserted part of utterances, which may be negated or argued for, i.e. they are used as \textit{proof} and not something that may \textit{need to be proven}. Cf.: \textit{istamirr fi ar qikum – az-zulm lahu nihāya} (continue on your path [for] ZULM has an end)\(^2\). While temporal modifiers easily combine with ZULM, spatial ones, which may be another way of expressing the same idea that ZULM may be constrained, apparently don’t. For instance, we found only one instance for a grammatically correct phrase ‘az-zulm lahu \(\text{hudūd}\) (ZULM has limits, boundaries), which parallels a popular idiom ‘\(\text{aṣ-ṣabr lahu hudūd}\) (patience has limits). This clear lacuna suggests that ZULM in media and, probably, wider public discussion, is seen from a socially pessimistic perspective as a phenomenon impossible to deal with \textit{hic et nunc}, so overwhelming that it only can go away with time. The only instance of ‘az-zulm lahu \(\text{hudūd}\) that we found in fact only reinforces this impression as it portrays a reality outside of Egypt in the foreign lands, affectively a Neverland as seen from where the author is situated, cf.: 

‘\(\text{afwan yā sayyidī ar-ra’īs... ašhadu annaka najātha fi an yākūna ḥulm bāqī abnā’ī al-waḥīd huwa ar-raḥīl ilā ayy buq’a fi al-ard ilā al-waṭan... fa-ba’duhu kull al-bilād sawā’... tataṣṣāwī fihā kull al-aṣyā’... aṣ-ṣams wa al-mā’ wa al-hawā’ wa lākin hunāka ajid mā lā ajidh fī waṭanī: al-amal... furaṣ’ ādīla... ijtīhād muṭāb... ḥayā muḥfīza li-ṭ-lāqāt... taḥaddiyāt yaqīlūhā al-minṭaq... zulm lahu ḥudūd...’\(^3\)

Sorry Mr. President, I witness that you have succeeded in that the only dream of the rest of my sons would be to go to any part (lit. spot) of Earth except the homeland... as after it all countries are the same, everything is equal in them, the sun and the water and the air, but I find there what I don’t find in my homeland: the hope, fair chances, effort rewarded, life stimulating energies, challenges, which logic [can] accept, ZULM [which] has limits...

\(^1\) A news item titled ‘ZULM has an End and Freedom is Coming’ – Slogan of the Ismailiya Oppositions’ ‘az-zulm lahu nihāya wa al-hurriya gāyya hitāf mu’ārifi al-ismā ilīyya’), dated 14 February, 1015 on http://www.masralarabia.com/ – see http://goo.gl/MuSish

\(^2\) http://www.anasportpsaid.net/News/139480/Default.aspx

\(^3\) http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/622324
The idea of the transience of ZULM appears to resonate with the key theme of what has been dubbed by some as kifāya (enough) rhetoric, effectively a new trend in the Egyptian pulp fiction, which evolved and gained popularity in the decade preceding the January 25 revolution\textsuperscript{124}. Junge (2015) chose the anti-Mubarak protest slogan of kifāya! (enough!)\textsuperscript{125}, which ‘accurately expresses the tight interaction between political demands and emotional expression’, as a tag for this newly identified literary trend, whose key characteristic feature is that ‘[a] result of suffering from social or political injustice (emphasis added – A.B. – this sounds as a rather accurate definition of ZULM), the protagonists mostly direct their affects and emotions outwards, to another person or group; they no longer internalize but externalize aggression’. Junge’s observation points to dynamics in the emotional reactions and political expectations of the Egyptian public over the late pre-revolutionary period, which explains much in both the public mood and the modality of the revolution. This growing sense of injustice among Egyptians is also reflected in the Google trend graph for the lexeme zulm, which highlights a steady upward dynamic beginning shortly after the 2005 presidential election up until now (2016), with high points on the graph clearly correlating with the peaks of political activity or repressions\textsuperscript{126}.

The framing of ZULM as a persistent and overwhelming state of affairs in a country with nothing to be done about it now, but which will imminently end in the future, reflects a somewhat eschatological idea of time reminiscent of religious discourses, which represent time as a segment of unspecified length or rather a vector connecting the two contrasting opposites of everlasting now, where things are mostly futile or bad and hereafter, where relief from pain, reward and eternal pleasure awaits the faithful. On the other hand, the idea that everything will change with the revolution and a new and better world will come and stay forever is characteristic of revolutionary discourses. The two perspectives are not incoherent, both of them neatly combine in a phrase frequently repeated in the Egyptian media texts, which became one of the revolutionary mantras, – dawlät az-zulm sā’a, dawlät al-haqq ilā qiyām as-sā’a (the state of ZULM [is for] an hour, the state of truth/justice [is] until the doomsday)\textsuperscript{127}.

\textsuperscript{124} Christian Junge. On Affect and Emotion as Dissent: The Kifāya Rhetoric in Pre-Revolutionary Egyptian Literature. Friederike Pannewick, Georges Khalil, Yvonne Albers (Eds.), Commitment and Beyond. Reflections on/of the Political in Arabic Literature since the 1940s Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 253–272.

\textsuperscript{125} The slogan was used as unofficial moniker for the grass-root based Egyptian Movement for Change during the presidential elections of 2005.

\textsuperscript{126} February 2011 – the month of Tahrir square sit-in and Mubarak’s resignation, August 2013 – massacre of pro-Mursi rally on Rābi‘a al-‘Adwiyya square in Cairo, November 2013 – with October – November being the period when protesters slain by police in various localities across Egypt became a regular news item.

\textsuperscript{127} Google search for the 2\textsuperscript{nd} part of the phrase dawlät al-haqq ilā qiyām as-sā’a (the state of truth/justice [is] until the doomsday) performed on May 31, 2016 returned 1,610 results.
6.3 Power and ẒULM – a reversed perspective

Our analysis of ẒULM in the political discourse would be incomplete should we neglect the other side of the debate, against whom the powerful ẒULM rhetoric is effectively directed – the institutions, officials and people governing and symbolically representing the Egyptian state. The purpose of our analysis in this section is to find out how this rhetoric has affected the public self-representation of the Egyptian authorities. The best material to address this point in the context of a study of revolutionary discourse is Mubarak’s last speeches delivered over the 18 days of protests in the Tahrir square in January – February 2011. The speeches represent an interesting mix; while trying to dismiss the presupposed accusations without explicitly repeating them, Mubarak still uses a lot of constituent elements of the revolutionary discourse, more often as part of presupposition than explicitly, which he tries to rearrange and re-appropriate in an attempt to justify his remaining in office. Particularly characteristic in that sense is Mubarak’s last speech delivered one day before his resignation.

The ‘revolutionaries’ message addressed to Mubarak is best expressed in the key slogan of the January 25 – February 11 sit-in – ʾirhal (go). Such simple imperative does not presuppose a verbal response. In his speech, Mubarak is trying to reframe the communicative act initiated by ‘revolutionaries’ as effectively a more cooperative type of exchange by imposing the notion of ʿnational dialog (al-ḥiwr al-watāni). Mubarak’s speech is construed as a response to protesters’ demands (matālib), which are not outlined explicitly in the speech. The notion of matālib, often also matālib ʿat-ṭawra, alternating with ahḍāf ʿat-ṭawra (goals of the revolution) is among the frequent occurrences in the discourse of the January 25 revolution. What is usually meant by this notion in later discourse of the revolution is the sequence of value concepts that form part of the popular revolutionary motto ʿayš, ḥurriya, ʿadāla ijtīmāʿiyya, karāma insāniyya (bread, freedom, social justice, human dignity), but also QIṣṣā (retaliation). While acknowledging that maṭālibukum hiya maṭālib ʿādila wa maṣṣūʿa (your demands are just and legitimate demands), Mubarak, in an oblique manner, responds to the theme of QIṣṣā and the closely interrelated theme of the Martyrs of Revolution (ṣuḥādāʾ ʿat-ṭawra – both of these concepts are coherent with the scenarios presupposed by ẒULM), which he does by committing to ‘speedily’ investigate the ‘events of the last week’ in an apparent reference to

128 Mubarak spoke on January 28 – at the heyday of the protests, on February 1 – on the eve of one of the most violent episodes during the 18 days sit-in in Tahrir square – the so-called Camel Incident, and on February 10 – just one day before his resignation, which happened on February 11, 2011 and on which occasion a very brief announcement was made on his behalf by Vice President Omar Suleiman.

the police violence against the protesters, cf.: ḥadd al-asbāb al-mādī (I have issued my orders for a speedy completion of the investigations on the events of the last week). The emphasis on ‘speediness’ is not a random embellishment here. By stressing it, Mubarak is affecting empathy with the mounting popular demands of QI al-ādil (just RETALIATION), without naming it explicitly, as according to a popular belief, QI al-ādil has to be speedy and also complete (sari’ or ʿājil and nājiz – effective, complete)\(^{130}\). Mubarak appears also to eagerly acknowledge the collective moral pain – a theme resonating with psychological and moral dimension of ZULM semantics as discussed above.

To overwrite the image of Zālim, Ṭāgiya (unjust ruler, tyrant), a standard description of all Egyptian presidents in the Islamist discourse, and now in the discourse of the Tahrir square protesters, Mubarak applies the universal metaphor of Ruler as Father. Mubarak, however, does not explicitly describe all Subjects as Children, but singles out Youth, whose role as ‘those who led this demand for change’, – a clear euphemism of the revolution, Mubarak acknowledges positively. In privileging the YOUTH and seeing is as the agent of Revolution Mubarak fully complies with the conventions, already established, of the revolutionary discourse. Mubarak speaks in an authoritative all-wise manner of a senior man, who always knows better and sees what the young people could not see:

 последние трудности, которые иначе не разрешимую для нас продолжать и потери, которые они нам нанесли, растут день ото дня и ситуация (lit. affair) будет окончательно с Египтом в условиях, в которых молодежь, которая вела этот запрос за перемены, станет первой пострадать (lit. be damaged) от этого.

The use of metaphors Ruler as Fatherly Figure and Power (Authority) as a Source of Wisdom helps reframe what otherwise would be interpreted as a threat into an impersonalized warning.

The manner, in which Mubarak in his speech is interpreting the protesters maṭālīb (demands) corresponds to a specific communicative practice representing a type of complaint, in Arabic described with the help of a derivative of √ājil –


\(^{131}\) Mubarak’s speech of 10 February, 2011 – http://goo.gl/08gP065

\(^{132}\) This part implies a sense of urgency about the situation: it is so bad that the authorities just can’t help doing something about it.
tazallum, which we discussed in Section 4.2 above. By framing his speech as a response to an implied tazallum, Mubarak rhetorically reinstates himself in the position of authority. By the time of the last speech, however, the revolutionary masses already felt empowered enough to deny Mubarak this status, which is reflected in a popular mural of the day – anā bukra mubārak (tomorrow I am Mubarak).

In his last speech, Mubarak pursues a strategy of engaging with the protesters discourse by manipulating meanings belonging to the semantic periphery of a set of sensitive concepts shaping the core of the revolutionary discourse: ZULM (oppression, wronging), QIṢĀṢ (retaliation), ŠAHĀDA (martyrdom), while avoiding direct nominations – he never uses the word ZULM but strives to appear as a just ruler (as opposed to the proverbial sulṭān jā’ir), the one whose justice is speedy just as is expected of a proper QIṢĀṢ. By following this strategy Mubarak is trying to undermine arguments, which may be harmful to his public persona, project a different reading of social reality from that of his opponents with the goal of altering their behavior. For all the polemical skill of his speech writers, Mubarak’s incapacity to engage with protesters’ rhetoric directly is not simply a sign of his weakness, but an evidence of the power of concepts shaping the core of the revolutionary discourse, such as ZULM.

Conclusions

The concept of ZULM demonstrates capacity to engulf within its scope of reference a broad range of human experience, including individual psychological and moral sufferings of people, who feel that they have been wronged, as well as a whole variety of social and political injustices. It has a rich evaluative component covering several subcategories of evaluation, including notably the psychological, ethical and normative ones.

The concept was particularly enriched by its history of circulation in several types of important public discourses characterized by varying degrees of historic depth. These include: (1) the normative religious discourse, grounded in the powerful authoritative texts of the Quran and Sunna, which still form an important part of Arabic speakers’ cultural thesaurus feeding into and sustained by a rich idiomatic corpus and reiterated through Muslim devotional and homiletic practices; (2) political discourses of various ideological persuasions, with two of them – the leftist and Islamist ones – putting a particular emphasis on the concept of ZULM; and last but not least (3) the everyday lay discussion on matters both private and social. With such a rich history of circulation and the diversity of lexico-grammatical forms of representation the concept shows an enormous sociopragmatic potential.

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133 According to eye witness accounts could be seen in many places around Egypt, particularly characteristic location would be the walls of a police station after a protesters’ assault.
In the discourse of the Egyptian Arab Spring the concept serves as basis for formulating the rationale of the REVOLUTION (Mubarak’s Egypt had been a state of ZULM – injustice of such scale had to be rectified by means of Revolution). Within the revolutionary discourse it also served as an interpretative model for many important events, which followed the initial 18-days sit-in in Cairo’s Tahrir square and contributed to the ongoing drama of the revolution. In making sense of the revolutionary experience the concept functioned in concert with a set of other powerful concepts sharing a similar history of circulation in a range of important public discourses (religious normative, political, and lay everyday social discussion). Semantic coherence across this set of concepts (their close affinity of frame-semantic structures and shared references resulting from it) allowed them to combine and shape a neat (one might even say hermetic) narrative structure, which fleshed out a positive idealized image of the Revolution, justified its goals, glorified its heroes and condemned its enemies. A notable case in point is another concept deeply rooted in the Islamic tradition – QIṢĀṢ (retaliation), which forms a perfect pair to ZULM, with two of them sustaining a consistent narrative interpreting a vast range of episodes of the scramble for power between the revolutionaries and their enemies described as FULŪL (debris of the Ancien Régime).

A well-defined frame-semantic structure of the concept coupled with a clear set of various types of evaluation associated with each semantic role – the Agent (Zālim), the Patient (Maẓlūm) and the vary act of wronging or oppressing (Zulm), which may be contrasted to more abstract and hence relatively vague notions from the same semantic domain, such as ‘ADĀLA (JUSTICE), provides ZULM with a unique capacity to impose a clear-cut structure on various types of social experience by construing and representing reality from the perspective of different social actors involved. With its extensive referential scope and high salience, ZULM has developed into an essential element of the dominant ideologies and folk theories of social reality and politics, broadly characterized with a black and white vision of the society as split between two sets of social actors: the negatively evaluated powerful wrongdoers and positively evaluated disenfranchised victims of ZULM. As part of such discourses the concept of ZULM has contributed greatly to the persistently polarizing nature of the Arab social debate.

The imminence of ZULM as a concept of political discourse is attested by the fact that despite the rhetorical edge of ZULM-centered discourses being directed against social actors associated with POWER, the speech of both the governors and the governed accept it and find it indispensable when it comes to construing the social reality. A powerful ruler – such as Mubarak, the key referent for the word Zālim within the January 26 revolutionary discourse – feels compelled to justify his behavior by implicitly deploying the same concept or even switching roles with a common individual and portraying himself as victim of ZULM.
The sociopragmatic power of such concepts as ZULM and QIṢÂS could be accounted for by the phenomenon of interdiscursivity, whereby semantic structures characteristic of one type of discourse (which may be described as source discourse) affect those of another one enhancing the richness and persuasiveness of the recipient discourse. Such is the case of the Islamic normative discourse meanings affecting the political and regular lay discussions. The source of the unique persuasiveness of the Islamic discourses, when transplanted into the political domain, lies in the empowering effect they produce on their audiences. This empowering effect stems from the projection of a simple non-hierarchical world of the early Islam on the complexity of modern sociopolitical reality.